5.

The Late
APOLOGY
In behalf of the
PAPISTS
RE-PRINTED
And
ANSVVERED,
In behalf of the
ROYALLISTS.

LONDON,
Printed for M. N. 1667.

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TO THE AUTHOR OF THE Apology.

SIR,

ABout fourſcore Years ago, in a time when there were ſuch Apprehenſions of the Papiſts as now there are, (and howſoever they are now, ſurely then they were not without cauſe) ſome of your Predeceſſors to palliate the matter, and to make their Governors more ſecure of them, writ a Book to this effect, that Catholicks are to employ *no other Arms againſt their Prince but the Arms of Chriſtians*, viz. *Tears*, and ſpiritual Means, daily *Prayers*, and Watchings and Faſtings. So you begin,

V. Cambdeni Annales, Anno 1586. concerning *Babington's* Conſpiracy.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, The Arms which Chriſtians can uſe againſt lawful Powers in their ſeverity are only Prayers and Tears.*]

We cannot ſay that you writ your Book for the ſame End as they did. But we do not like it, that you jump ſo together in the ſame Beginning.

[*Now ſince nothing can equal the infinity of thoſe we have ſhed, but the cauſe, viz. to ſee our deareſt Friends forſake us, we hope it will not offend you, if (after we have a little wip'd our eyes) we ſigh out our Complaints to you.*]

Of the *Cauſe* of your Tears, we ſhall ſay more anon. Of the *Quantity* of them, you ſay very extravagantly, *Nothing can equal the infinity of thoſe we have ſhed.* For you might have excepted thoſe of the Proteſtants in Queen *Maries* dayes, or of them that ſuffered in the late Iriſh Rebellion. You ought to have excepted the Tears of your Fabulous Purgatory: and yet thoſe are ſaid to be ſhort of *Infinity.* But you Jeſuites love to be Hyperbolical, whether ranting or whining; as if that Religion which obliges you to damn all other Chriſtians, had likewiſe forbidden you to ſpeak like other Men.

[*We had ſpoke much ſooner, had we not been ſilent through Conſternation to ſee you inflamed (whom with reverence we honour) and alſo to ſhew our ſubmiſſive patience, which uſed no ſlights nor tricks to divert the Debates of Parliament: for no body can imagine where ſo many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concerned, but ſomething might have been done; when as in all Ages we ſee things of publick advantage by the managers dexterity nipt in the bud, even in the very Houſes themſelves. Far be it from Catholicks to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Priviledges, and all Antient Laws; Nay,* Magna Charta *it ſelf had its riſe from us, which we do the leſs boaſt of, ſince it was not at firſt obtained in ſo ſubmiſs and humble a manner.*]

In the ſame Roman Style you commend your own *ſilence* and *patience.* You *boaſt* that you *have been the Founders of the Parliaments Priviledges, and all Antient Laws.* Of the firſt, let every man believe as he ſees cauſe. But the ſecond we cannot allow, in either ſenſe, whether you mean it of your ſelves, or of your Predeceſſors.

For as now in your Church, men are of two ſorts, even ſo they were heretofore in this Realm. There were ſome that wholly minded the common Intereſts of Chriſtian Religion and Civil Government. Others were *Papalini*, aſſerters and promoters of the Popes uſurpations. They which acted in thoſe firſt capacities were not more your Predeceſſors than Ours. They which acted in the other were truly and only Yours. You ſay,

[*We ſung our* Nunc Dimittis *when we ſaw our Maſter in his Throne, and you in your deſerved Authority and Rule.*]

'Tis

'Tis very well. And yet * some of you sung your *Venite Exultemus* when you saw his Blessed Father upon the Scaffold. But what of that? since the Son is King, who is not glad that he is † King? or whom would it not *grieve to have his Loyalty called in Question?*

* Answer to *Philanax*, p. 58.

† So *Argyle* said, *Let them take all, since my Lord the King is come home in peace.*

[*Nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, but to have our Loyalty called into question by you even at the Instigation of our greatest Adversaries.*]

[*If we must suffer let it be by you alone, for that's a double Death to men of Honour to have their Enemies not only accusers, but for their insulting Judges also.*]

Sir, he that is *Loyal*, and a *man of Honour*, has no cause to fear *Death double* or single. For our Kings have alwayes Declared * that they put no man to death for Religion. Therefore if you Truly fear Death, it is for Treason. If you only Pretend this, it is a Calumny. Either way you are no friend to the Government, for all your pretences to *Honor* and *Loyalty*.

* K. *James* Premonition, p. 336. of his Works.

[*These are they that by beginning with us, murthered their Prince and wounded you: and shall the same method continue by your Approbation?*

We are sure you mean well, though their design be wicked: but never let it be recorded in Story, that you forgot your often Vows to us, in joyning with them that have been the cause of so great Calamity to the Nation.]

How far it is true, that the *Kings Murtherers began with you*, we shall consider anon. But it seems you take the Liberty of bestowing that Character upon whom you please; that no man hereafter may dare move for the Execution of any Law against you, for fear of being said to *continue the Method* of the King's Murtherers.

As for any *Vows* that we have made to you, whatsoever they are, you are more sure of them than we can be of any that you make to us, for we have no Pope to dispense with them; Neither is it *recorded in Story*, * that English Protestants ever *joyn'd with* the Enemies of their Nation.

* *V. Inf.* K. *Charles* his Testimony in his Letter to the Prince.

[*Of all Calumnies against Catholicks, we have admired at none so much as that their Principles are said to be inconsistent with Government, and they themselves thought ever prone to Rebellion.*]

'Tis a Calumny of yours to call those things *Calumnies*

nies which are True, and which you cannot Deny without such a Presumption as we should much *admire* in you if it were not so very Ordinary. Concerning your *Principles*, where should we look for them? but in your Councils, your Decretals, and the Books of your Divines. In each of these we are taught, that the Pope has a Power to depose Kings, and to discharge Subjects from their Allegiance: which Doctrines are utterly *inconsistent with Government*: for whosoever believes them, no Prince can be secure of him. But whosoever is a Papist, *is* bound to believe them. And he that has imbib'd this Faith, may well be *thought ever prone to Rebellion.*

Conc. Lateran. IV. c. 3. The Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Innocent* III. expressly Ordains, that in case any Prince be a favourer of Hereticks, after admonition given, *the Pope shall discharge his Subjects from their Allegiance, and shall give away his Kingdom to some Catholick, that may root out those Hereticks, and possess his Kingdom without contradiction.* 'Tis observable, that this Pope was himself a deposer of Kings, namely of *John* King of *England*, and of *Otho* IV. the Emperor; and also that this Council which made Rebellion a Duty, was the first that made Transubstantiation an Article of Faith.

Bellarm. in *Barclaium.* c. 31. Next for the Bulls and Decrees of your Popes, which according to *Bellarmin* are sufficient to *make that to be sin which is not sin, or not to be sin which is sin:* it would be tedious to instance in all that could be produc'd to this purpose.

Extrav. de Majoritate & Obed. c. 1. *Unam Sanctam.* From *Gregory* VII. downward, such a Trade was driven of deposing Kings, that no weak Prince could wear his Crown, but at the Pope's courtesie. And that it might never be otherwise, Pope *Boniface* VIII. declares it for Law in these words: *We say, and Define, and Pronounce, that it is absolutely Necessary to salvation, for every humane Creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome.* Which Oracle is thus interpreted by *Bertrand*; every humane Creature (*i.*) Every Magistrate, Must be subject, *&c.* (*i.*) Must submit himself to be deposed, when the Pope thinks fit. And that the Gloss doth not injure the Text, it appears by the

1 Pet. 2. 13. πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει. Vulg. Lat. *Omni humanæ Creaturæ.*

Tenor

Tenor of the Decree; especially by those words about the middle of it, that *the Spiritual Power is to order the Worldly Power, and to judge it if it be not as it ought; according to that in* Jeremy, *I have set thee over Nations and over Kingdoms,* Jer. 1. 10. *&c.* In which suppletive, *&c.* these words are wound up; *To root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.* All which powers this Law-giver of yours endeavoured himself to exercise. *He endeavour'd,* saith *Platina, to give and take away Kingdoms, to expel men, and to restore them at his pleasure.* *Plat. in vit. Innoc. III.*

Agreeably to this doctrine and practice your great Canonist *Lancelottus* teaches you, *That the Pope may depose Kings and Emperors, and transfer their Kingdoms and Empires from one Line to another.* Which wholesome Doctrine, no doubt, as well as the rest of his Book, Pope *Pius* IV. has made Authentick by his unerring Approbation. *Lanc. in Templo omn. Judic. l. 2. c. 1. Sect. 4* *Ib. in Praf.*

Lastly for your Divines, They have generally own'd it; and many of them have written large Books in defence of it. We do not tell you this as news, for you Clergy-men know it already; but that your Laity may not be ignorant of it, we shall quote them some few of the greatest Doctors of your Church in this Age. And we shall leave it upon you to shew them, when and where they were condemned, what Justice has been executed on the Persons, what *Index Expurgatorius* has censur'd the Writings of these Authors. Nay, if you deal honestly, you cannot but confess, that their Works are generally approved, and that their Persons are had in admiration among You that are the guides of the Lay-mens Consciences.

We pass over the gross things of *Mariana's* Book; because, they which once licens'd it for love of the Doctrine; have since condemned it, for fear of their King's heavy Displeasure.

But pray Sir who condemned your Cardinals, *Bellarmin* and *Baronius*? who teach you that the *Pope* may do with any *King*, as *Jehoiada* did with *Athalia*; that is, he may *deprive him first of his Kingdom, and then of his Life.* *Bellarmin* indeed elsewhere expresses it more like a Jesuite, and a *Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 8.* *Baron. Anno 800 Sect. 10.*

man

man of distinctions, in these words; *The Pope does not allow you not to obey your King*, but *he makes him that was your King to be not your King*: as who should say, when the Pope has done His part, then you are free to do Yours.

Bell. in Barclaium, c. 3.

Again, who condemn'd your great Schoolmen, *Suarez* and *Valentia*? of whom the one writes against his Majesties Grand-Father, that a *King*, Canonically Excommunicated, *may be deposed or killed by any man whatsoever*: the other sayes, that an Heretical Prince may, by the Pope's sentence, be *depriv'd of his Life, much more of his Estate, and of all Superiority over others.*

Suar. in Reg. M. B. l. 6. c. 4. Sect. 20.

Greg. de Val. Tom. 3. disp. in Thomam. dis. 1. q. 12. p. 2.

Nay, who has condemned our Countreyman *Parsons* or *Cressel*? (for the high-fliers of Popery have been those of our own Nation) by whom this is laid down as a *Conclusion of the whole School of Divines and Canonists*, and declar'd to be *Certain, and of Faith*; *that any Christian Prince whatsoever, that shall manifestly swerve from the Catholick Religion, and endeavour to draw off others, does immediately fall from all Power and Dignity*, &c. *and that, even before any Sentence of the Pope is pronounced against him*; *and that all his Subjects whatsoever are free from all obligation of any Oath of Obedience which they have made to him as their lawful Prince*; *and that they may and ought (if they be strong enough) to eject such a one from the Government of Christians, as an Apostate, an Heretick, a deserter of Christ, and an enemy of his Commonwealth*, &c.

Philopater. p. 149.

Cardinal *Perron* went not altogether so high; but yet he held to the Roman Catholick Principle, that *Kings may be deposed by the Pope when he sees cause*. He seemed to be of another opinion while *Henry* IV. was alive: but when He was dead, and a Childe was in the Throne; then he ventur'd to declare this publickly in his Oration * on behalf of the whole Clergy of *France*. † He maintained that this was the current Doctrine in *France* till the time of *Calvin*: and for the contrary Doctrine, *viz. That Kings are not deposeable by the Pope*, *Rossens* * calls it the *Paradox of the Lutherans*; *Perron* calls it a *Doctrine that breeds Schisms*: a *gate that leads into all Heresie*; and *to be held in so high a degree of detestation, that*

* *Jan.* 15. 1615

† Note that the Pope sent him thanks for it; and King *James* writ in answer to it, that solid *Defence of the Right of Kings.*

* *Ross.* p. 85.

that rather then yield to it, he and his fellow Bishops would chuse to burn at a Stake.

But how has this Doctrine taken among the Papists in our Kings Dominions? it has not taken with some of them: either because you have not thought it seasonable for you to instruct them in it; for Doctrines of this sort are then only proper to be Inculcated, when they may do Execution; or else because your Instruction has been over-rul'd by some better Principle; as we doubt not there have alwayes been some of your Church, in whose generous breasts the Englishman has been too strong for the Papist. But yet this Doctrine has taken with others: and many of them have practised according to it, as we shall shew you hereafter; and many more would have been practising, if there had not been something to hinder them or deder them. For 'tis allowed by your Divines, as a very good Reason, for Catholicks to omit the Duty of Rebellion, *if they are not strong enough* to go through with it. So *Bannez* excuses our English Catholicks, and so *Bellarmin** does the Primitive Christians. Nay your Casuists say, if there be any notable danger of Death or Ruine, without which you cannot perform it, that then you are not bound to endeavour it. Long may these Good Reasons continue; for if these were remov'd, we know not how far we might trust you. For one of your Brethren, another poisoner of the people, has been so forward already since his Majesties Restauration, as to declare in Print, that in case your Pope should take upon him to Deprive our King, he would not meddle between them. *I leave that Question*, saith he, *to be decided by the two Supream Powers*, the Pope, and the King, *when occasion shall be for it.*

* *Bell. de Rom. Pont.* l. 5. c. 7. *Watsons* Quodlibets, p. 255. and 295, *&c.* out of *Bannez*, *Valentia*, and *Parsons*.

The Exhortation in the afternoon, p. 22.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, had this been a new Sect not known before, something perchance might have been doubted; but to lay this at their doors that have governed the civilized world, is the miracle of miracles to us.*]

Sir, we know not how to cure your wonder, but by shewinst you 'tis unreasonable. For you call it a *Miracle*, that men judge according to good Evidence. Who *doubts* less

of the dangerousness of your Principles and Practices, than they that have Read most, and had most Experience of them? We can give you no greater instance, than in King *James* of blessed Memory, who was no stranger to you either way, and this is his Judgment of you: *That as on the one part, many honest men seduced with some Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects: So on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and School conclusions of their Doctrines, can ever either prove good Christians or good Subjects.*

V. His speech in Parliament, p. 504. of his Works.

But pray Sir, when was it that you *govern'd the civiliz'd World*? For the Eastern and Southern Churches never own'd your Government, nor yet the Western, while Learning flourish'd: But when Barbarity had over-run it, then Popery grew up by degrees, and made it more barbarous both in Ignorance and in Cruelty. Then came in those Doctrines of Transubstantiation, *&c.* Then came in those Papal Usurpations, *&c.* which the *World*, being again *Civiliz'd*, hath partly thrown off, and partly reduced into more tollerable tearms.

Did Richard *the First, or* Edward *Longshanks suspect his Catholicks that served in* Palestine, *and made our Countreys Fame big in the Chronicle of all Ages? or did they mistrust (in their dangerous absence) their Subjects at home, because they were of the same profession? could* Edward *the Third imagine those to be traiterous in their Doctrine, that had that care and duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of Death in the highest Degree, that had the least thought of ill against the King? be pleased that* Henry *the Fifth, be remembred also, who did those Wonders, of which the whole world does yet resound; and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas* Oldcastle *he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of* Rome *to be Head of the Church.*

The Reigns of those Kings whom you speak of, were in those dark times; when all Goodness declin'd, and Corruptions were daily growing upon us. *Richard* the First, being told he had three wicked Daughters, Pride, Covetousness, and Leachery, said he could not Match them better than among your Templers, Fathers, and Friars. *Edward* the First out-law'd the whole Clergy of this Realm, for refu-

Daniel's Hist. *Ric. I. in fin.*

sing

sing to pay the King any Taxes, because the Pope had forbidden them to do it. And both those other Princes whom you mention, made Laws against his Usurpations. *Edward* the Third made a notable one of this kinde, by advice of that very Parliament, in which he enacted his *Laws against Treason*. And certainly, *Henry* the Second was more vex'd with *Becket*, than ever *Henry* V. feared *Oldcastle*. We doubt not, those Kings had many good Subjects, and our King hath some better than you seem to be. But they differed not in Religion, as you do from ours: And yet then, your Faction was alwayes encroaching where it was suffered, and dangerous where it was opposed. *Walsingham. Edw.* I. 1298. 25 E. 3. *Vide* Statute of Provisors.

Did not your Pope force King *John* to do him homage for *England*? Did he not wrestle with *Edward* I. for the Soveraignty of *Scotland*? hath he not often laid claim to the Kingdom of *Ireland*? If the old Gentleman in a pet should go to turn out his Tenants, what would our King have left when these are disposed of? * *Mat. Westm.* 1301.

r. [*We will no longer trouble you with putting you in minde of any more of our mighty Kings who have been feared abroad, and as safe at home as any since the Reformation of Religion. We shall only adde this, that if Popery be the enslaving of Princes,* France *still believes it self as absolute as* Denmark *or* Sweden.

The French King will believe what he pleases, but not all that you say of him. For he cannot but know, that the Pope gave away that Kingdom from some of his Predecessors; and maintained War in it against his Grandfather, till he brought him to his terms. And why hath not his Holiness dealt so with him that now is? partly for the sake of his Religion; but chiefly for fear of a Storm, lest his Coin should do that which *Lewis* the Twelfth's only threatned in the Inscription of it, *PERDAM BABILONIS NOMEN.* *Thu. Hist.* l. 1.

[*Nor will ever the House of* Austria *abjure the Pope, to secure themselves of the fidelity of their Subjects.*]

For the *Austrian* Princes that are so link'd to the *Pope*,

and whose *Subjects* are all Papists; you suggest a mad way to *secure* themselves by firing their Countrey about their ears.

The Spaniard holds the Kingdoms of *Navar*, and of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, only by the Popes gift; by which he should have *Ireland* too, and *England*, but that the right Heir keeps them from him.

But what is this to *England*? where *since the exclusion of* that trash, which you call *the Catholick Faith*, the King and the greatest part of his People are no Papists, and have had so much trouble and danger for it from them that are. May not Reason and Experience teach us to fear, that having to do with the same kinde of Adversaries, we may still have some troublesome and dangerous Enemies? No, we have none to fear but our selves, if we may believe you. For say you,

[*We shall always acknowledge to the whole world, that there have been as many brave English in this last Century, as in any other place whatsoever: yet since the exclusion of the Catholick Faith, there hath been that committed by those who would be fain called* Protestants, *that the wickedest* Papist *at no time dream't of.*]

Pray Sir what may *that* be? For you have murthered Kings, and them of your own Religion, four or five in this Realm since the Conquest. (not to speak of those Numbers elsewhere) But that was in the growing Age of Popery. In latter times, have you so soon forgot our Kings Grand-Father *Henry* IV. murthered by *Ravilliac* or his Predecessor *Henry* III. murthered by Friar *Clement*? and the People you have kill'd up by whole Families and Townships. Witness *England*, *Ireland*, *France*, *Piedmont*, which you will hear of elsewhere. These things have been done by Papists broad-awake, and what must *that* be *which the wickedest of them never dream't of*?

[*'Twas never heard of before that an absolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, and those stiled her* Peers; *or that a King was publickly Tryed and Executed by his own* People *and Servants.*]

Walsingham, Hist. *Edw.* I. 1306.

First you tell us of the Queen of *Scots* put to Death in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign. It was by the same colour of right, we suppose, that *Wallis* suffered in *Edward* the First's Reign, namely of that Sovereignty that our Princes challenged

lenged over *Scotland*. But *Edward* I. was erewhile a laudable Papiſt; and Queen *Elizabeth* for all this might be a very good Proteſtant. Sure we are, that King *James* and King *Charles*, who were neareſt concerned in this matter, never imputed the Fault of it to her Religion.

Your other inſtance is, of that moſt execrable Murther, committed on the beſt of Kings, by his own Subjects, and by ſuch as you ſay, *would fain be called Proteſtants*. Sir, we *would fain be called* Chriſtians, and Members of the Catholick Church: would you take it well of a Turk, that ſhould Therefore charge our faults upon you? but you do worſe then a Turk, in charging theſe mens faults upon us. They were neither then nor ſince of our Communion, but that bleſſed Prince was, whom they murther'd. He declared upon the Scaffold, *I dye a Chriſtian, according to the profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father*. He charged the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, *not to grieve, and torment her ſelf, for him; for that would be a glorious Death which he ſhould dye, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion*. He died with ſome Care not to leave you this advantage by his Death; as it appears by theſe words of his laſt Letter to his Majeſty that now is. *The ſcandal of the late Troubles which ſome may object and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in* England, *is eaſily anſwered to them or your own thoughts in this, that ſcarce any one who hath been a beginner or an active proſecutor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws, and Mee, either was or is a true lover, embracer, or practicer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in* England; *which neither gives ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch Examples.* Letter to the Prince.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, we know who were the Authors of this laſt abomination, and how generouſly you ſtrove againſt the raging Torrent; nor have we any other ends to remember you of it, but to ſhew that all Religions may have a corrupted Spawn; and that God hath been pleaſed to permit ſuch a Rebellion, which our Progenitors never ſaw, to convince you perchance (whom for ever may he prosper) that Popery is not the only ſource of Treaſon.*]

But do you indeed *know who were the Authors of this laſt abo-*

abomination? Pray Sir be plain with us, for in theſe doubtful words, there ſeems to be more truth than every man is aware of. The Rebellion that led to it began we know in *Scotland*, where the deſign of it was firſt laid by † Cardinal *Richelieu his Majeſties* * *irreconcileable Enemy.* Then it broke out in *Ireland*, where it was bleſt with his Holineſs's Letters, and aſſiſted by his Nuntio, whom he ſent purpoſely to attend the Fire there. Laſtly here in *England*, you did your parts to unſettle the People, and gave them needleſs occaſions of jealouſie, which the vigilant Phanaticks made uſe of, to bring us all into War and Confuſion.

† *V. L'Eſtrange.* 1639. in *Haberfields* Relation.

* Anſwer to the Reaſons for no Addreſs.

Both in *England* and *Scotland*, the ſpecial Tools that they wrought with, were borrowed out of your Shops.

It was his Majeſties own Obſervation (by which you may gueſs whoſe *ſpawn* they were.) *Their Maxims*, ſaith he, *were the ſame with the Jeſuites; their Preachers Sermons were delivered in the very phraſe of* Becanus, Scioppius, *and* Eudæmon Johannes; *their poor Arguments, which they delivered in their ſeditious Pamphlets printed or written, were taken almoſt verbatim out of* Bellarmin *and* Suarez.

Large Declaration concerning the tumults in *Scotland*, p. 3.

In *Ireland*, where you durſt do it, you imploy'd Iron and Steel againſt him; with which you might as well have preſerved him, if you had pleaſed; but you *denyed* to do that, (as he tells us) *only upon account of Religion* * Then followed the accurſed Fact it ſelf, agreed to in the Councils of your Clergy, † contriv'd and executed by the Phanaticks. In vain did the poor Royalliſt *ſtrive againſt it*, for what could he do? when two ſtreams met againſt him, of which the deepeſt was that which came from *Rome*, where the falſe Fiſherman open'd all his Flood-gates, to overwhelm us with thoſe troubles, which, for the advantage of his trade, he had often before endeavoured, but could never prevail till now to ſend them pouring in upon us.

* Anſwers to the Reaſons for the Votes of no Addreſs.

† Anſwer to *Philanax*, p. 59.

[*Little did we think, (when your Prayers and ours were offered up to beg a bleſſing on the Kings Affairs) ever to ſee that day, in which* Carlos, Gifford, Whitgrave, *and the* Pendrels, *ſhould be puniſhed by your deſires for that Religion which obliged them to ſave their forlorn Priace; and a ſtigmatized man (for his Offences againſt King and Church) a chief promoter of it.*

Nay,

Nay left, did we imagine, that by your Votes Huddleſton *might be hang'd, who again ſecured our Sovereign; and others free in their faſt Poſſeſſions that ſate as Judges, and ſealed the Execution of that great Prince of happy Memory.*]

That many Gentlemen of your Church were not of your Party, we do willingly acknowledge; and that ſome of them in that critical day of Danger, did the King very eminent Service. But ſo did Proteſtants too; therefore you cannot aſcribe this to your *Religion*. Nor does it ſeem reaſonable, that to requite particular perſons for their ſervice, we ſhould abandon thoſe Laws which may ſecure the publick againſt as great a danger.

To queſtion his Life that had freely expoſed it for our Sovereign's, were too great a barbarity for any Chriſtians but of your Sect, or any Age but Queen *Maries* dayes; for then Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was indeed ſo dealt with; but we do not more deteſt thoſe times than ſuch examples. And we know that his Majeſty, without any treſpaſs on his Laws, may protect and reward thoſe perſons whom he judgeth deſerving it; as well as his Royal Predeceſſors did, in whoſe Reigns the penal Laws were made. *Dolemans* Conference of Succeſſion, part 2. p. 237.

Pray be you as favourable to the *ſtigmatized Man*, (whom ſure you are not angry with *for his Offences againſt King and Church*, whatſoever you ſay;) and if he be now a *promoter* of any thing that diſpleaſeth you, bear with him, as his Majeſty doth; for whom he lately did his utmoſt againſt Phanaticks toward the bringing of him in: and he would not willingly live to ſee the Pope turn him out again.

For the Regicides be as ſevere with them as you pleaſe; only beware how you tax his Majeſty's Mercy, for fear you may have need of it.

[*We confeſs we are unfortunate, and you juſt Judges, whom with our lives we will ever maintayn to be ſo; nor are we ignorant the neceſſity of Affairs made both the King and you do things, which formerly you could not ſo much as fancy. Yet give us leave to ſay we are ſtill Loyal; nay, to deſire you to believe ſo, and to remember how Synonymous (under the late Rebellion) was the word* Papiſt *and* Cavalier; *for there was never no* Papiſt *that was not deemed a Cavalier, nor no Cavalier that was not called a* Papiſt; *or at leaſt judged to be popiſhly affected.*]

Your

Your fawning upon the Parliament, and commending of your ſelves, we paſs over as things of courſe. And we equally believe you now, as You did the Phanaticks heretofore, when they called us *Papiſts*; or as We did you e'rewhile, when you called them *Proteſtants*. For pray Sir, what did they to be called Proteſtants? or what did *we* to be *judged Popiſhly Affected*? And if all *Papiſts*, as you ſay, were *deemed Cavaliers*; we hope ſome of them have had the grace to be aſhamed of it. In *Ireland* there were whole Armies of Iriſh and Engliſh, that fought againſt his Majeſty, ſolely upon the account of your Religion. In *England* it is true, ſome came in voluntarily to aſſiſt him; but many more of you were * *hunted into his Garriſons*, by them that knew you would bring him little help and much hatred. And of thoſe that fought for him, as long as his Fortune ſtood; when that once declined, a great part, even of them, fell from him. From that time forward, you that were, *always, all, deemed Cavaliers*, where were you? In all thoſe weak Efforts * of gaſping Loyalty, what did you? You complied, and flattered, and gave ſugar'd words, to the Rebels then, as you do to the Royalliſts now. You addreſt your Petitions † *to the Supream Authority of this Nation, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England. You affirmed * that *you had generally taken, and punctually kept the Ingagement.* You promiſed that if you might but enjoy your Religion † you *would be the moſt quiet and uſeful Subjects of* England. You prov'd it in theſe words. * *The Papiſts of* England *would be bound by their own Intereſt (the ſtrongeſt obligation amongſt wiſe men) to live peaceably and thankfully in the private exerciſe of their Conſciences; and becoming gainers by ſuch compaſſions, they could not ſo reaſonably be diſtruſted, as the Prelatick* Party that were loſers. You prov'd it more amply by real Teſtimonies; which we have no pleaſure in remembring, and you would have leſs in hearing of them. Theſe things were too lately done to be talk't of.

*Second Moderator, p. 43.

*1647, 1656, 1659.

† Firſt Moderator, p. 59.
* Second Moderator, p. 41.
V. Anſwer to *Philanax*, p. 63. of Father *Bret.*
† Firſt Moderator, p. 31.
* Firſt Moderator, p. 36.

If after all this ſaid and done for your own Vindicaton, you were ſtill *deemed Cavaliers*, the more was your wrong. But who could help it? all the right we can do you, is, not to believe it.

We

[*We know though we differ ſomething in Religion (the truth of which let the laſt day judge) yet none can agree with your Inclinations, or are fitter for your converſe than we; for as we have as much Birth among us as* England *can boaſt of, ſo our Breeding leans your way both in Court and Camp: and therefore had not our late ſufferings united us in that firm tye, yet our like humors muſt needs have joyned our hearts.*

If we erre, pitty our condition, and remember what your great Anceſtors were, and make ſome difference between us (that have twice converted England *from Paganiſm) and thoſe other Sects that can challenge nothing but intruſion from their impoſed Authority.*]

As for *Religion* we *agree* with you in all that is truly Catholick: We *differ* from you only in not admitting your Innovations. And whether juſtly, we ſay alſo, *let the laſt day Judge.* Your *Converſe*, *Breeding*, &c. we heartily reſpect as far as 'tis Engliſh. But we ſuſpect every thing that *leans* toward a Forreign Juriſdiction. And we would be loth, by our kindeneſs to thoſe things wherein we agree with you, to be drawn into the danger of thoſe things in which we differ from you.

By that flam of your having *twice converted England from Paganiſm*, ſure you mean that we in this Land have been twice converted by perſons ſent to us from *Rome*. Which you will never perſwade any one to believe, that dares truſt himſelf to taſte of Church Hiſtory without one of your Fathers chewing it for him. But ſuppoſing this to be true, pray what would you infer from it? that becauſe we received good from the Primitive Chriſtians of that place, therefore we ſhould lay our ſelves open to receive any evil that may happen to us from their degenerous Succeſſors.

[*But 'tis generally ſaid, that Papiſts cannot live without perſecuting all other Religions within their reach.*

We confeſs where the name of Proteſtant is unknown, the Catholick Magiſtrates (believing it erroneous) do uſe all care to keep it out: Yet in thoſe Countries where liberty is given, they have far more privileges than we, under any reformed Government whatſoever. To be ſhort, we will only inſtance France *for all, where they have publick Churches, where they can make what Proſelytes they pleaſe, and where it's not againſt Law to be in any charge or employment. Now* Holland (*which permits every thing*) *gives us 'tis true, our Lives and Eſtates, but takes away all truſt in Rule, and leaves us alſo in danger of the ſcout whenſoever he pleaſeth to diſturb our Meetings.*]

What *is generally said* of the Popish Persecutions, is also generally believed. But Sir, you answer it deceitfully. For you tell us of the manner; first, of those Countries *where the name of Protestant is unknown*: and next, of those Countries *where liberty is given*: but you slip over a third sort, namely, of those where the *name of Protestant* is well known, and yet no *liberty is given*. Pray what *liberty* have the Protestants in *Flanders*? we are told they have none: and yet the *name* of them is very well known there. The like may be said of divers other Countries. Nay in *England*, while it was Yours, did you give any *liberty* at all? yet the *name of Protestant* is very well known here, and was sufficient for the burning of any one that was known by it. But you say you *will only instance France for all*. Very wisely resolved, for it would not have been for your credit to *instance* any other. In *France* then, whatsoever *liberty* the Protestants enjoy, it is by vertue of their Edicts: which how they were obtained, we shall have occasion to minde you; and how they are observed, let the poor *Hugonots* tell you. But if they were observed to the full; should we therefore grant you that liberty which is *against Law*? because they are allowed that which you say is *not against Law*.

* K. *James* Defence of the Right of Kings, P. 479, 480.

In *Holland*, the Papists may have some reason to complain, if their Masters allow them no more *liberty* than you speak of. For it was chiefly by their hands, that the Spanish yoak was thrown off: which on the contrary, our Papists were so fond of, that for divers years together, we had much ado to keep them from pulling it on upon our necks.

[*Because we have named* France, *the Massacre will perchance be urged against us: but the world must know that was a Cabinet Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholick Writers there, and of other Countries also: besides, it cannot be thought they were murthered for being* Protestants, *since 'twas their powerful Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them into that ill machinated destruction.*]

The French *Massacre*, which you next speak of, was a thing *of so horrid a Cruelty*, *that*, as *Thuanus* * tells us,

* *Thu. Hist. l.* 53.

con-

conſidering men, having turn'd over the Annals of the Nations, could finde no example of the like in all Antiquity. *It was cloaked over with ſhews of the greateſt Amity in the world; namely of a Marriage between the Houſes of *Valois* and *Bourbon*; to which all the chiefs of the Proteſtants were moſt lovingly invited. There after the Jollity of Mirth, and careſſes of Entertainment, in the dead time of the night, the whole City was in Arms about them; they fell upon all the Proteſtants Houſes and Lodgings; they butchered them without diſtinction, Men, Women, and Children, till the Channels ran down with Blood into the River: And ſcarce a Proteſtant was left alive, except the * *Bridegrooms* and the Prince of *Conde*; who turned Papiſts to eſcape their hands, and yet they could not eſcape them, the one being poiſoned, and the other ſtabb'd by men of your Religion. This helliſh Stratagem, you ſay, was *condemned as wicked by Catholick Writers.* It was likewiſe extoll'd as glorious by Catholick Writers. But pray Sir, what think you of it? you are baſhful in company, but one may gueſs at your meaning. Firſt you ſay it was a *Cabinet Plot*, a fine ſoft word, for the butchering * of 30000. perſons. Next, in anſwer to them that call it *murther*, you ſeem to blame it as a thing done to Halves; for what elſe can you mean, by calling it an *ill-machinated deſtruction*? Laſtly, whatſoever it was, that which *drew* it upon them, you ſay, was *their Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would.)* Nay Sir, it was their Faith (let their Obedience have been what it would) For neither had that King better Subjects than thoſe which were maſſacred; nor had his Succeſſor erranter Rebels than thoſe that did Maſſacre them. Brave *Coligni* was the firſt murthered; and his Head was ſent to *Rome*, while his Body (according to his own ominous * *wiſh*) was mangled and dragged about the Streets of *Paris*. The Duke of *Guiſe* was chief of the murtherers; whoſe *factious Authority*, as you ſweetly ſtyle it, was as black a Rebellion as ever that Kingdom ſaw. But to end this Queſtion, whether theſe men were maſſacred for *Proteſtant Religion*, or for *Rebellion*; let us take judges between us: for poſſibly, We

* *Thu. Hiſt. l. 52.*

* *Guignard*, in his Oration ſaid, *It was a great error that they had not cut the Baſilick vein*

* *Id. l. 53.*

* *Thu. Hiſt. l. 52.* ſaith that Being forewarn'd of the Plot, and adviſed to ſtand upon his Guard; He *wiſht rather to have his Body drag'd, &c. than to ſee any more Civil Wars in* France.

may be partial for the one, and You for the other.

First, of *Rebellion*, a King ſhould be the moſt competent Judge: hear therefore what King *James* ſaith, who lived in the freſh memory of thoſe dayes. *I could never yet learn* (ſaith he) *by any good and true Intelligence, that in* France, *thoſe of the Religion took Arms againſt their King. In the firſt Civil Wars they ſtood only upon their Guard, they ſtood only to their lawful Wards, and Locks of Defence. They armed not, nor took the Field, before they were purſued with Fire and Sword, burnt up and ſlaughtered. Beſides, Religion was neither the root nor the rinde of thoſe inteſtine Troubles. The true ground of the Quarrel was this; during the Minority of King* Francis II. *the Proteſtants of* France *were a refuge and ſuccor to the Princes of the Blood, when they were kept from the King's Preſence, and by the Power of their Enemies were no better than plainly driven and chaſed from the Court. I mean the Grand-Fathers of the King now Reigning, and of the Prince of* Conde, *when they had no place of ſafe Retreat. In regard of which worthy and honorable Service, it may ſeem the French King hath reaſon to have the Proteſtants in his gracious remembrance. With other Commotion or Inſurrection the Proteſtants are not juſtly to be charged. Certain it is, that King* Henry III, &c. *by their good Service was delivered from a moſt extream and imminent peril of his Life, &c. they never abandoned that* Henry III. *nor* Henry IV. *in all the heat of Revolts and Rebellions raiſed by the Pope, and the more part of the Clergy,* &c.

Defence of the right of Kings, in his Works, p. 479, 480.

Then of *Religion*, ſince you will allow none but the Pope to be Judge, let us hear his Judgment from *Thuanus*, who was a Roman Catholick, and a moſt authentick Hiſtorian. He tell us the Pope had an account of the Maſſacre from his Legate at *Paris*, that he read his Letter in the Conſiſtory of Cardinals, that there it was decreed that they ſhould go directly to St. *Marks*, and there ſolemnly give *thanks to Almighty God for ſo great a bleſſing conferred upon the Roman See, and the Chriſtian World.* That ſoon after a Jubilee ſhould be publiſht through the whole Chriſtian World, and theſe cauſes were expreſt for it, To give *thanks to God for deſtroying in* France *the Enemies of the Truth, and of the Church,*

Thu. Hiſt. l. 53.

Church, &c. In the Evening the Guns were fired at St. *Angelo*, and Bonefires were made, and nothing was omitted of all thoſe things that uſe to be performed in the *greateſt Victories of the Church.* Some dayes after there was a Proceſſion to St. *Lewis*, with the greateſt reſort of Nobility and People. Firſt went the Biſhops and Cardinals, then the Switzers, then the Ambaſſadors of Kings and Princes: then under a Canopy, went his Holineſs himſelf, with the Emperors Ambaſſador bearing up his Train for him; *&c.* Over the Church Door was an Inſcription ſet up, in which the Cardinal of *Lorain*, in the name of the King of *France*, congratulated his *Holineſs*, and the Colledge of Cardinals, *&c.* for the *plainly ſtupendious effects, and altogether incredible events, of their Councils given him, and of their Aſſiſtance ſent him, and of their twelve Years Wiſhes and Prayers.* Soon after, the Pope ſent Cardinal *Urſin* in his name, to congratulate the King of *France*, who in his Journey through the Cities, highly commended the Faith of thoſe Citizens that had to do in the Maſſacre; and diſtributed his Holineſſes bleſſings amongſt them. And at *Paris*, being to perſwade the reception of the Council of *Trent*, he endeavoured it with this Argument, That the memory of *the late Action to be magnified in all ages, as conducing to the Glory of God, and the Dignity of the Holy Roman Church*, might be as it were ſealed by the Approbation of the Holy Synod: for that ſo it would be manifeſt to all men that now are, or hereafter ſhall be, that the King conſented to the deſtruction of ſo many lives, *not out of hatred or revenge, or ſenſe of any injury of his own, but out of an ardent deſire to propagate the Glory of God.* That, what could not be expected whilſt the Faction of Proteſtants ſtood, now ſince they were taken away, the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion which by the Synod of *Trent* is cleared from the venom of the Sectaries, might be eſtabliſhed without Controverſie, and without Exception *through all the Provinces of the French Dominion.*

Well ſpoken, worthy Head of thy Church, we will take thy Judgement about cutting of throats at any time;

time; thou doſt not mince the matter, as this Engliſh limb of thee doth: who yet is thus far to be commended; that ſince he durſt not ſay of it as he deſir'd, for fear of provoking us, yet he would not call it as it deſerved, for fear of too much contradicting thee.

[*May it not be as well ſaid in the next Catholick Kings Reign, that the Duke of* Guiſe *and Cardinal, Heads of the League, were killed for their Religion alſo? Now no body is ignorant, but 'twas their Factious Authority which made that jealous* Prince *deſign their Deaths, though by unwarrantable means.*]

The Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brother *were* not *killed for their Religion*; for they were killed by * one of the ſame Religion, and one that was bent againſt the Proteſtants as much as they. Only becauſe he ſpared the blood of the Proteſtants your Zealors hated him; and ſo much the more, becauſe a Proteſtant * being his Heir, he would not declare him uncapable of the Succeſſion. For theſe cauſes, by the Popes conſent, theſe *Guiſes* (whom he called the *Maccabees* † *of the Church*) entred into an *Holy League* againſt their King; and called in the Succors of *Spain* and *Savoy*, which they paid for with the Rights of the Crown; they maintained a ſharp War againſt him, and did all that was in their power to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life. Whereupon that *jealous Prince* (as you favourably * call him) for his own preſervation, was urged to deal with them, as they had dealt with the Proteſtants; from whoſe caſe, this of the *Guiſes* is ſo vaſtly different, that one would wonder why you ſhould mention it.

But ſince you have led us thus far out of the way, let us invite you a little farther. The Pope Excommunicated the King for this Action, and granted 9. Years of true Indulgence to any of his Subjects that would bear Arms againſt him; and foretold,* (as a Pope might do without Aſtrology) that *e're long he ſhould come to a fearful Death.* The Subjects took Arms, and earned the Indulgence. A Friar took his Knife, and fulfilled the Prediction; by ripping up thoſe Bowels that were alwayes moſt tenderly affected with kindeneſs to the Monkiſh Orders. But what joy was there

* *Henry* III. of *France.*

* *Henry* IV.

† *Thu. Hiſt.* l. 91.

* *Roſſæus*, one of your Predeceſſors, calls him a thouſand times worſe than Mahomet, p. 170. and ſaith, *from the beginning of the world, no Nation or State ever endured ſuch a Tyrant*, p. 171.

* *Sixtus* V. quoted his own Prediction in his Oration that follows.

at

at *Rome* for this! as if the news of another Maſſacre had come to Town; one would think ſo, by the Popes Oration* to his Cardinals: in which he ſets forth this *work of God* (the Kings Murther) for its wonderfulneſs to be compared with *Chriſts Incarnation* and *Reſurrection*. And the *Friars* Vertue, and Courage, and fervent Love of God, he prefers before that of *Eleazar* in the *Maccabees*, or of *Judith* killing *Holofernes*: and the murthered King (who had profeſt himſelf to dye in the *Faith of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Church*) he declared to have died in the *Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*. Pray Sir, may it not well be ſaid, that *Papiſts cannot live without perſecuting Proteſtants*? when we ſee a Popiſh King ſtabb'd and damned for not perſecuting them enough, or for doing the work of the Lord negligently.

* Printed at *Paris*, 1589. by the Printers of the *Holy League*, and approved by the *Sorbon*.

[*If it were for Doctrine that* Hugonots *ſuffered in* France, *this Haughty Monarch would ſoon deſtroy them now, having neither Force nor Town to reſiſt his Might and Puiſſance. They yet live free enough, being even Members of Parliament, and may convert the Kings Brother too; if he think fit to be ſo. Thus you ſee how well* Proteſtants *may live in a* Popiſh Countrey, *under a* Popiſh King: *nor was* Charlemain *more Catholick than this; for though he contends ſomething with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about Gallicane Priviledges, which perchance he may very lawfully do.*]

[*Judge then worthy Patriots, who are the beſt uſed, and conſider our hardſhip here in* England, *where it is not only a Fine for hearing Maſs, but death to the Maſter for having a Prieſt in his Houſe, and ſo far we are from preferment, That by Law we cannot come within* 10. *miles of* London; *all which we know your great mercy will never permit you to exact.*]

You ſay if this were true, then *this haughty Monarch would ſoon deſtroy his* Hugonots *now*. No ſuch conſequence, Sir, for he may perſecute them, and not *deſtroy* them; he may deſtroy them, but not ſo *ſoon*. Princes * uſe to go their own pace, whilſt they are upon their legs; but if any misfortune throws them upon all four, then the Pope gets up and rides them what pace he pleaſeth. Nor is this Monarch yet ſo *Catholick* as *Charlemain* was, if he were, he would do as *Charlemain* did. He would be Patron of all the Biſhopricks in his Empire, even of *Rome* it ſelf, if it were there. He would make the Pope himſelf know the

* K. *James* works, p. 483.

Canon *Agatho* Diſt. 63.

diſtance

Fauchet. Anno 801. c. 10. that the Pope ador'd him, not he the Pope.

distance between a Prelate and an Emperor. He would maintain the Rights of his Crown; and not chop Logick about *Gallicane Priviledges*, which you say like a sly Jesuite, that *perchance he may lawfully do*. He would call a Council when he pleased, to separate Errors from the *Faith*; as *Charlemain* himself called a Council * against Image Worship, which was then creeping into the Church. This were a good way of *destroying* the *Hugonots*, by taking away all causes of strife amongst Christians. By any other way than this he cannot destroy them, without the violation of his Laws: which, as they are the only *Forces and Towns*, whereby Subjects ought to be secured against their King; so, since he is pleased to allow them no other, these Laws, backt with his puissance, are forces enough to secure them against their fellow Subjects.

* Council of Frankford, An. 794.

We cannot pass this Paragraph, without observing your Jesuitical ingenuity; how you slight those favours that you have; how you complain of those *hardships* that you have not; and how you insult over the poor *Hugonots*, by comparing with them, who generally would mend their condition by changing with you. Pray Sir, do not Popish Peers sit in our English *Parliaments*, as well as Protestants in the French? or have you not as free access to our *Kings Brother*, as they have to theirs? or would you have his Highness to Catechise, as the Abbot had the Duke of *Gloceſter*? perhaps that you would have. Otherwise we know nothing but his Highnesses Wisdom, and care of his Conscience, that guards him from you.

Of the Laws you complain hideously, *Worthy Patriots consider our hardship*. And yet, those very *Laws* you complain of, you never knew executed in your life; and you tell us soon after, that you *know* they never will be. For what cause then were they enacted? Plainly for this cause, to guard the lives of our Princes against your traiterous practices.

[*It hath often been urged, that our Misdemeanors in Queen* Elizabeth's *dayes, and King* James *his time, was the cause of our Punishment.*]

Your

Your *Miſdemeanors*! we cry you mercy, if they were no more; but that comes next to be argued, whether they were *Miſdemeanors* or Treaſons?

[*We earneſtly wiſh that the Party had more patience under that Princeſs. But pray conſider (though we excuſe not their faults) whether it was not a queſtion harder than that of* York *and* Lancaſter, *the cauſe of a War of ſuch length, and death of ſo many* Princes, *who had moſt right,* Q. Elizabeth *or* Mary Stuart: *for ſince the whole Kingdom had crowned and ſworn Allegiance to* Q. Mary, *they had owned her Legitimate Daughter to* Henry *the Eighth; and therefore it was thought neceſſarily to follow by many, That if* Mary *was the true Child,* Elizabeth *was the Natural, which muſt then needs give way to the thrice Noble Queen of Scots.*]

Under Queen *Elizabeth*, you wiſh your Party had *more patience*; and we think they Needed none; for in the firſt 10. Years of her Reign they had no Buſineſs for it. In all that ſpace of time, which was twice as long as Queen *Maries* Reign, though it was freſh in memory what the Papiſts had done, yet not one of them ſuffered Death; till the Northern Rebellion: which being raiſed againſt her, only upon the account of her Religion; it appears that She was the perſecuted perſon: She had the occaſion for *Patience*; and you would have wiſhed Them more Loyalty, if any ſuch thing had been in your thoughts. But perhaps you wiſh they had ſo much *patience*, as not to have diſcovered their deſign before it was fully ripe for execution. Not unlike. For it appears, you account Rebellion no fault; by this, that you ſay, you *excuſe not their faults*, and yet you do excuſe their Rebellion. *Philopater.* P. 103.

You excuſe them, by ſaying, it was a very *hard Queſtion*, whether the *Right* of the Crown lay in her, or in the *Queen of Scots*; for that many thought *Queen Elizabeth* illegitimate: Pray Sir, who *thought* it? or when aroſe that *Queſtion*? The Arch-Biſhop of *York*, though a Papiſt, in his Speech at the publiſhing of Queen *Maries* Death, ſaid, *No man could doubt of the juſtneſs of the Lady* Elizabeths *Title to the Succeſſion.* The whole Kingdom received her, and owned her as Queen, more generally and freely than ever they did Queen *Mary*. The *Roſſ.* p. 223. ſaith of them that were pretended to dye for *your* Religion, *Where was it ever heard that they denied her to have bin the lawful Queen?*

Neighbor Kings of *Spain* and *France*, and the Emperor offered * Marriage to her, in hopes to have got the Crown by her. The *Queen of Scots* her self did acknowledge her, and claimed nothing more than to be Heir to her, and so did King *James* that was her Successor. So that whosoever opposed Queen *Elizabeths* Right; if they were English, 'tis apparent they were Rebels; and if they were Papists, we may guess what led them to it. For the first that *Questioned* her Title, was Pope * *Paul* IV. who would not acknowledge her for sundry causes; the chief that he alledged were these. First, Because *this Kingdom is a Fee of the Papacy, and it was audaciously done of her to assume it without his leave*, The second was, because *she was Illegitimate*; for if her Fathers Marriage were good, the Pope must set down his Mill. But after all this, his Successor *Pius* IV * did own her, and would have done any thing for her, so she would have owned him. Which because she would not, the next *Pope Pius* V. issued out his Bull * against her, and deposed her; not for Bastardy † but for Heresie; that is, for being a Protestant: for which Heresie it was, that the Northern men Rebelled against her; and many more of her Subjects disowned her; and some or other were every foot plotting how to take away her life.

* *Philip* II. and *Henry* II. for themselves, and the Emperor *Maximilian* for his Brother *Charles*.

* Council of *Trent*. l. 5. *An.* 1558.

* In his Letter by *Parpaglia*, dated 1560. *May* 5.

* Dated 1570. *Feb.* 25.

† See the Bull it self, there is not the least mention of Bastardy in it.

True it is, that some of these pretended to do it in favour of the *Queen of Scots*. But how if that Queen had not been a Catholick? or Queen *Elizabeth* had not been thought *Illegitimate*? would a legitimate Protestant have been so contended for? or would a Popish Bastard have been rejected by them?

Pope *Gregory* XIII. had occasion to consider this. For his Holiness had a Bastard * of his own to provide for, and another † of the Emperors; no doubt good Catholicks both of them. To one he gave the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and set out *Stukeley** with Forces to win it from him. To the other he gave the Kingdom of *England*, and gave him leave to win it for himself. But what was all this to the *thrice Noble Queen of Scots*? Possibly she might have been preferred to have married one of the two; but then it must have

* *James Fitzmaurice.*
† *Don John.*
* Whom his Holiness created Marquess of *Lemster*, Earl of *Wexford*, &c. *Thu. Hist.* l. 64.

have been expreſly with this condition, that her Son *King James* (who was a Heretick) *ſhould have nothing to do with the Succeſſion.*

When their bubbles were broken, and ſhe was dead, all her *Right* deſcended to King *James*; who being as little do the Popes minde, as Q. *Elizabeth* was, *Sixtus* V. only took no publick notice of Him, but he proceeded with all his might againſt Her. He curſt her afreſh, and publiſht a Croiſade againſt her, and gave the whole *Right* of Her Kingdoms to *Philip* II. King of *Spain*. But neither that Popes Bounty, nor his three Succeſſors Bleſſings, nor the Spaniſh Arms, nor the Italian Arts (for no way was left untried) could ever prevail againſt Gods Providence; which, till the end of her dayes, kept that Queen alwayes faſt in her Poſſeſſions.

At laſt, Pope *Clement* VIII. ſeeing there was nothing to be done againſt her, reſolv'd to let her go like a Heretick as ſhe was; and to take the more care that another Heretick ſhould not ſucceed her. For which cauſe he ſent over two Breves into *England*, one to the Clergy, and the other to the Laity, commanding them not to admit any other but a Catholick, though never ſo *near in Blood*, to the Succeſſion: that is to ſay, in plain words, not to admit King *James* to Reign after Queen *Elizabeths* death. So 'tis clear, that your Popes never ſtuck at that *hard Queſtion* that you ſpeak of. *Camden, Eliz.* 1600.

Set us ſee what our Countrey-men did; who as you ſay, *ſuffered for it in thoſe dayes*. They did like obſequious Members, at every turn, as their Head directed them. They acted for the Papal Intereſt as far as they were able. They made the *Houſe of Scotland* the Cloke for it, as far as it would reach. And it reacht pretty well, as long as the Title was in Queen *Mary*. But after the Title came to be in King *James*, Pray Sir, name us thoſe Papiſts, or but one ſingle perſon of them, that either did or ſuffered for Him; and then you bleſs us with a diſcovery.

What then? were they idle for ſo many years as paſt between the commencing of his Title, and the Death of

Queen *Elizabeth*? Nothing leſs. For they were as buſie as Bees, in contriving how to haſten her Death, and how to put him by the Succeſſion. And if it were for his Service, that they would have deſtroyed Her; pray for whoſe ſervice was it, that they would have defeated Him? but that will be known by the ſtory.

Soon after his Mothers Death was the Spaniſh Invaſion; which would have defeated him with a Witneſs, if it had ſped; and yet our Papiſts, both Negotiated * it, and writ in Defence † of it. Afterwards in *Scotland* your Jeſuites procured the Earl of *Huntley* * and others to raiſe a powerful Rebellion againſt him. In *England* they endeavoured to perſwade the Earl of *Derby* † to ſet up a Title to the Crown; who honeſtly revealing it, was poiſoned ſoon after, according to the prophetical threatning of *Hesket* whom they had made uſe of to perſwade him.

When theſe ſingle ſhots failed, Father *Parſons* * gave a broad-ſide to the *Royal Houſe of Scotland*. For he publiſht a Book under the name of *Doleman*, wherein he ſet up divers Competitours for the Succeſſion, and conſequently ſo many Enemies to the unqueſtionable Right of that Family. And to provide one ſure Enemy upon the place, he found out a Title for the Earl of *Eſſex*, the moſt ambitious and popular man in the Nation, to whom alſo he craftily dedicated his Book. In which he mentions, † among other Books of this nature, one written by *Leſley* concerning the Queen of *Scots* Title; another by *Heghinton* for the King of *Spains* Title; and another concerning the Prince of *Parma's*; But for his part, before theſe and all others, he prefers the Title of the *Infanta*. And, to ſhew that he meant as he ſaid, * he cauſed their Scholars in the Seminaries abroad to ſubſcribe to it, and made them ſwear to maintain it, and bound the Miſſionaries to promote it in thoſe places whether they were to be ſent. Whereas for King *James* his Title, he prefers ſeveral others before it, and tells us, † *I have not found very many in* England *that favour it*: meaning ſure of your Catholicks, with whom his converſe chiefly was; and concerning whom he gives this remarkable teſtimony, that

* *Cambden. Eliz.* 1588.
† Cardinal *Allen's* admonition.
V. Watſon's Quodl. p. 240. and 247.
* *Cambden Eliz. Anno* 1589.
Watſon's Quodl. p. 150.
† *Cambden* Ib. *Anno* 1593.
Watſon, Ib. p. 154.
* *Cambden* Ib. *Anno* 1594.
Doleman's Conference about the next ſucceſſion to the Crown.
† *Doleman.* part. 2. p. 9.

* *Cambden* Ib. 1602.
Watſon. Ib. p. 279.

† *Dolem.* Ib. p. 109.

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**the Catholicks make little account of his Title by nearness of Succession.* * Ib. p. 110.

We have reason to believe he did not wrong them, because when an answer was written to his Book, † the Arch-Priest *Blackwel* would not suffer it to be published. And your next Head-Officer, the Provincial of the Jesuites, *declared he would have nothing to do with King *James* his Title: and 'twas the common voice of the men of his Order, that **if King James would turn Catholick, they would follow him*; *but if not, they would all dye against him.* † *Watson.* Ib. p. 107. * *Tortura Torti.* p. 197. * *Watson* Ib. p. 150.

Which pious Resolutions were seconded with agreeable Actions. For they endeavoured, as far as Catholicks are obliged by their principles, *viz.* as far as they durst and were able; at first, to hinder him from coming in, and afterwards to throw him out again or to destroy him in the place, as we shall have occasion to shew you in the answer to the next Paragraph.

The mean while out of this present discourse, in which you cannot deny any thing that is material to our purpose; It appears that this *hard question of Right to the Crown*, was not between the Parties themselves in one or t'other of whom you confess the *right* was. It appears that your Infallible Judge of Controversies very easily and impartially resolv'd it, by denying both sides of the question, and assuming the whole *right* to himself. It appears that your Catholicks, who are said to have sided with one against the other, did in truth side with the Pope against them both. And lastly it appears that their *misdemeanors* were inexcusable Treasons, if any Treason can be inexcusable that is befriended with such an Apologist.

[*'Twas for the Royal House of* Scotland *that they suffered in those dayes; and 'tis for the same Illustrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any occasion.*]

Sir, we have found you notoriously False in that which you Affirm: Pray God you prove True in that which you Promise.

[*No*

[*Nor can the consequence of the former procedure be but ill, if a* Henry VIII. (*whom Sir* W. Raleigh, *and my Lord* Cherbury, *two famous Protestants, have so homely Characteriz'd*) *should after twenty years cohabitation turn away his Wife, and this out of scruple of Conscience* (*as he said*) *when as History declares that he never spared Woman in his Lust, nor man in his Fury.*].

This *Character* would better agree with many a Head of a Church whom we could name you, than with *Henry* VIII. of whom better * Historians speak better things. But if he were such a Monster as you would make him, perhaps it was for want of a better Religion, for he was perfectly of Yours, except only in the point of Supremacy. And you had no occasion for this flurt at him: unless, that having undertaken to put the best colours upon Treason, you might think you did something towards it in bespattering of Kings.

* *V. Thu. Hist.* l. 1.

† *Philopater*, p. 308. and 323.

Et v. Thu. Ib.

We have a touch of the same Art in the next Paragraph. Where having undertaken to excuse the Gun-Powder-Treason, you call it first a *Misdemeanor*, then the *Fifth of November*, and then a *Conjuration*; soft words all of them: but you deal wicked hardly with *the great Minister* of State, whom you make to have been the Author of it; as if the Traitors had not conspired against the State, but the State against them.

But before we come to answer this, it will be needful to set down the story, as it appears out of the Examinations and Confessions of the Traitors themselves.

The rise of this Treason, was from the before-mentioned *Breves* of Pope *Clement* VIII. in which he required all his Catholicks, that *after the death of that wretched Woman Queen* Elizabeth, they should admit none but a Catholick to reign over them. These *Breves* were by *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuites communicated to *Catesby* and others; who in Obedience thought best to begin their Practices in her life time. So they sent Father *Tesmund* and *Winter* into *Spain* to crave the assistance of that Crown. The Spaniard sent them back with the promise of an Army. But soon after Queen *Elizabeth* died, and no Army came. Therefore again

again they ſent *Chriſtopher Wright* into *Spain* to haſten it; and *Stanley* out of *Flanders* ſent *Fawks* thither upon the ſame errand; who finding the Counſels of *Spain* at this time wholly enclined to peace, returned quietly back, and brought nothing but deſpair along with them.

Yet the Breves had ſo wrought upon *Catesby*, that he could not finde in his heart to give over; but ſtill caſting about for wayes, he hit upon this of the Powder-Treaſon, which as being much out of the common Rode, he thought the moſt ſecure for his purpoſe. He communicated this to *Winter*, who approved it, and fetcht *Fawks* out of *Flanders* to aſſiſt in it. Not long after *Piercy* being in their company, and offering himſelf to any *ſervice for the Catholick Cauſe, though it were even the Kings Death*: *Catesby* told him, that that was too poor an Adventure for him: but, ſaith he, if thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a *Plot of greater advantage, and ſuch a one as can never be diſcovered.* Thus having duly prepar'd him, he took him into the Conſpiracy. And the like he did with ſo many more as made up their Number 13 of the Laity.

But where were the *Jeſuites* all the while? not idle, you may be ſure. The Provincial *Garnet* was privy to it from the beginning, ſo were divers *more of the Society. Inſomuch that when *Watſon* endeavour'd to have drawn them into his Plot, (for the ſetting up of the Lady *Arbella*'s Title, in oppoſition to King *James* his) they declin'd it, * ſaying, *They had another of their own then afoot, and that they would not mingle deſigns with him for fear of hindering one another.*

But *Watſon* miſcarried with his Plot, and the Jeſuites went on with theirs. They abſolv'd the Conſpirators of the Guilt, and extenuated the Danger of their deſign; they perſwaded them how highly Beneficial it would be in the Conſequences of it; they gave them their Oath, by the Holy Trinity and the Sacrament which they did then receive, that none of them ſhould reveal it to any other, or with-draw himſelf from it without common conſent: and for the pitiful ſcruple of deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, *Garnet* anſwered, they might lawfully do it in order

to

* *Baldwin, Hammond, Teſmund*, and *Grard* were named by the Conſpirators, as privy with them.

* *V. Watſons* Confeſſion.

to a greater good. Yet it seems there was a spark of Humanity in some of them, which the Divinity of this Casuist had not quite extinguish't; as appear'd, either by the absenting of some Lords that were afterward fined for it in the Star-Chamber, or certainly by that Letter of warning to my Lord *Monteagle*, which was the happy occasion of the Discovery of the whole Treason.

In *Warwick-shire*, where the Princess *Elizabeth* then was, they had appointed a meeting, under the pretence of a Hunting-March, to seize upon her, the same day in which the King and his Male Issue were to have been destroyed. There met about fourscore of them, which was a number sufficient for that business. But the news of the Discovery coming among them, they were so dismayed at it, that they desisted from their enterprize, and fled into *Staffordshire*; where, the Countrey being raised against them, they were some of them kill'd, and the rest taken; and those which were alive of the prime Conspirators were sent up to *London*, and there Executed.

This is the plain story, now let us see how you colour it.

[*Now for the Fifth of* November; *with hands lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and detest,*]

What is it that you *abominate and detest*? That day which is the Festival of our Deliverance? We can believe you without *your hands lifted up to Heaven.* Or mean you the Treason which was to have been acted upon that day? why then do you not speak out and call it so? For if you cannot afford to call it Treason, it is not the *lifting up of your hands* that can make us believe you do heartily *abominate and detest it.*

[*And from the bottom of our hearts say, that may they fall into irrecoverable Perdition, who propagate the Faith by the Blood of Kings, which is to be planted in truth and meekness only.*]

It was a good caution of a Philosopher to the Son of a com-

common Woman, that he ſhould not throw ſtones among a multitude, for fear of hitting his Father. You might have had that caution when you threw out this curſe; for your Father the Pope ſtands faireſt for it of all men that we know in the world.

[*But let it not diſpleaſe you, Men, Brethren, and Fathers, if we aſk whether* Ulyſſes *be no better known? or who hath forgot the Plots of* Cromwel *framed in his Cloſet; not only to deſtroy many faithful Cavaliers, but alſo to put a luſtre upon his Intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his knowledge. Even ſo did the then great Miniſter, who drew ſome few deſperadoes into this conjuration, and then diſcovered it by a Miracle.*]

Having ſpit and wip't your mouth, now you make your ſpeech. And it begins with a mixture of *Apoſtle* and *Poet*; to ſhew what we are to expect from you; namely, with much Gravity, much Fiction: and ſo far you do not go about to deceive us.

The ſcope of your ſpeech is to make the world believe that your Catholicks were drawn into this Plot by Secretary *Cecil*. You are ſo wiſe, that you do not offer to Prove this; but you would ſteal it into us by an Example, that we are concerned in. As *Cromwel* trepann'd *many faithful Cavaliers*, even ſo *Cecil* drew in *ſome few deſperadoes*. Compariſons (they ſay) are odious: but to the buſineſs.

Firſt, admitting your Fiction, as if it were true, that *Cecil* did draw in thoſe wretches into this Treaſon. Was it ever the leſs Treaſon becauſe He *drew* them into it? For, according to your own ſuppoſition, they did not Know that they were drawn in by him. But they verily thought that they had followed their own Guides; and they zealouſly did according to their own Principles. They did, what they would have done, if there had been no *Cecil* in the world; provided there had been a Devil in his room, to have put it into their heads. For your excuſe only implies, that they had not the Wit to invent it: But their progreſs in it ſhews, that they wanted not the Malice to have executed it. So that according to your own illuſtration: As thoſe faithful Ca-

valiers whom *Cromwel* drew in, had their Loyalty abuſed, and were, nevertheleſs Faithful ſtill; ſo thoſe Powder-Traitors whom you ſay *Cecil* drew in, had their Diſloyalty outwitted, and were nevertheleſs Traitors ſtill. For as well in the one caſe as in the other, this very thing that they Could be drawn in, is a clear demonſtration that they were before-hand ſufficiently Diſpoſed for it.

Secondly, when you have conſidered the abſurdity of your excuſe for your friends, you may do well to think of an excuſe for your Self. For that which you affirm of *Cecil*'s having drawn them into this Plot, is a very groundleſs and impudent Fiction, and you are properly the Author of it. For though others perhaps may have ſpoken this in raillery; yet you are the firſt, that we know of, that has aſſerted it in Print.

Pray Sir, whence had you this tale? By what Tradition did you receive it? Or had you ſome new Revelation of the Cauſes threeſcore years after the Fact? For 'tis plain, that King *James* * knew nothing of it. *Bellarmin* and his fellow *Apologiſts* in that Age never pretended it. The parties themſelves, neither at their Tryal, nor at their Execution, gave any intimation of it. Can you tell us which of the Conſpirators were *Cecils* Inſtruments to draw in the reſt? or can you think he was ſo great an Artiſt, that he could perſwade his Setters to be hang'd, that his Art might not be ſuſpected? For 'tis well known that he ſav'd not any of thoſe wretches from ſuffering. And they which did ſuffer, charged none other, but themſelves, in their Confeſſions. Particularly, Father *Garnet* ſaid, before Doctor *Overal* and divers others, that *he would give all the world, if it were his, to clear his Conſcience or his Name* from that Treaſon.

* V. His Speech in Parliament. 1605. and his Relation, *&c. Warmington*, p. 7 ſaith, *None were therein culpable, but only Jeſuites and Catholicks.*

Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Front. Ducæum.

Theſe are ſtrong preſumptions of the Negative; but you ought to have proved your Affirmative, or at leaſt to have offered ſomething toward it. For if barely to ſay this, be enough, then here is an excuſe indifferently calculated for all Treaſons in the world that miſcarry: and (if they proſper, who dares call them Treaſons?) Here is a never failing Topick for any one that would write an *Apology* in behalf of

any

any Villany whatsoever. For if the Traitors be discover'd by any kinde of accident, this will always remain to be said for them, that *the then great Ministers drew them in.*

But why did you not say this for those Conspiracies in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes? you might have said it perhaps with less improbability. But then you had a higher Game to fly at, namely the *Queens* Title to her Crown; and if you durst have made so bold with King *James* his, you would not have stoopt to so low a Quarry as a Minister of State.

But by the way we cannot but acknowledge, that you Jesuites are a sort of most Obliging Gentlemen. If men will believe what you Say, nothing that you Do can fall amiss. In your attempts against the life of Queen *Elizabeth*, you obliged his Majesty that now is, as being Martyrs for the *Royal House of Scotland*. And in your Plot to blow up that Royal House, you were a kinde of Fellow-sufferers with *the Faithful Cavaliers*; for as they us'd to be trepan'd by *Cromwel*, even so you were drawn in by Secretary *Cecil*.

It is worth observing in this Paragraph, how you Diminish that hellish Plot, by calling them that were engag'd in it a *few Desperadoes*.

The *Fewness* of them will be considered in your next.

But in what sense do you call them *Desperadoes*? Were they such in respect of their Fortunes? That is so well known to be false, that it needs no Answer. Were they such in respect of their Discontents? that seems to be your Meaning. But there was little Reason for any. For at the time of this Conspiracy, there was none of your Priests in Prison, there was no Mult taken of any Lay-man, *Nor was there a man of them*, as King *James* * said, *that could alledge any pretended cause of grief*. And yet they were continually Restless, as we have shewn you in their story. Was it because they had not all the liberty they would have had? This is so far from excusing Them, that it rather gives us occasion of suspecting You.

* King *James* Speech in Parliament, 1605.

'Tis no wonder that you, who cannot afford to call this Conspiracy a Treason, are not willing to allow the *Discovery* of it a *Miracle*. Yet you might have forborn Scof-

fing at it, in respect to King * *James* who was pleas'd to Name it so. Especially when his Adversary *Bellarmin* * acknowledges that it was *not without a Miracle of Divine Providence.* And sure our King makes a better use of this word *Miracle* in the thankful acknowledgment of Gods great Mercy in his deliverance; then your Pope * *Sixtus* V. did in his insolent Oration upon the King of *France*'s Murder; by which we may guess what some body would have called this Plot if it had Sped.

* Ib.

* *Tortus*, p. 85. Edit. Colon.

* *Sixti Orat.*

[*This will easily appear, viz. how little the Catholick Party understood the Design, seeing there was not a score of Guilty found, though all imaginable industry was us'd by the Commons, Lords, and Privy Council too.*]

The *Design* it self was *understood* but by *Few*, because it was neither safe nor needful to impart it to Many. But the *Papists* generally knew that there was a Design in hand; and though they did not know the horrid nature of it, yet many of them pray'd for the success of it: and if the Plot had taken effect, and the Hunting-Match had gone on, we should then have been better able to have judg'd how your *Catholick Party* stood affected toward it. Sure enough though there were but a * Score in the Treason, yet there appear'd Fourscore in the Rebellion: and it cannot be imagin'd, that so small a Number could expect, without any other Assistance, to have made any great Advantage by surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth.* But when the Treason had miscarried, as hateful as it was, (for who does not hate Treason when it is unsuccessful?) yet many of you had a high Veneration for some of those Wretches that were deeply engaged in it. What a Coil here was about the Miracle of Father *Garnet*'s straw? And perhaps you have seen his Picture, and *Gerard*'s too among the * Martyrs of your Society. Nay his Holiness himself shew'd his good Will to them, when after all this, he made *Tesmund* Penitentiary at St. *Peters* in *Rome.*

* 5 Jesuites, 13 Lay-men, besides *Owen* and *Stanley.*

* At *La Fleche*, and elsewhere.

[*But suppose my Lords and Gentlemen, (which never can be granted) that all the Papists of that Age were consenting; will you be so severe then, to still punish the Children for the Fathers Faults?*]

[*Nay such Children that so unanimosly joyned with you in that glorious Quarrel, when you and we underwent such sufferings, that needs we must have all sunk, had not our mutual love assisted.*]

You *suppose* that which is False, to avoid that which is True. For who ever said, that *All the Papists of that Age were Consenting* to the Gun-Powder-Treason? Or who can deny that some Papists in this Age retain the Principles of them that were Consenting to it? Who, although they are not to be *Punisht* for what their Predecessors did; yet they ought to be so Restrained, that they may not do like their Predecessors.

And though, by that long word *Unanimously*, you endeavour to shuffle in the men of these Principles, amongst them that served his Majesty in *that Glorious Quarrel*: Yet we think it no hard matter to distinguish them. For those among you which did the King Service, are not so many but that they may be Numbred. And as for the rest of you, which Only *suffer'd* with us; we thank you for your *Love*, but not for your *Assistance*. For we could not well have *sunk* lower than we did. But some of you floted the while like Cork; and others of you swum upon the Bladders of Dispensations. So that as we received no help from you in your Swimming; so we can apprehend no Assurance of you by your *Sufferings*.

[*What have we done that we should now deserve your Anger? has the indiscretion of some few incensed you? 'tis true, that is the thing objected.*]

Sir, our *Anger* is only a Necessary Care, that what you now call your *Indiscretions*, may not grow to be such as you lately call'd your *Misdemeanors*.

[*Do not you know an Enemy may easily mistake a Mass-Bell for that which calls to Dinner?*]

We

We *know* he *may* upon a Faſt-day; For then you uſe to ring your Veſper-*Bell* before *Dinner*. And how can a ſimple Heretick tell; whether it *calls* you, to Pray, or to eat Fiſh? But we do not know that ever any of you was brought in trouble about this Queſtion.

[*Or a Sequeſtrator be glad to be affronted being Conſtable? When 'twas the hatred to his perſon, and not preſent Office, which perchance egg'd a raſh man to folly.*]

Poſſibly he May be *glad* of it. For it was your Jeſuitical diſtinction between *Perſon* and *Office*, that firſt holp him to be a *Sequeſtrator*. And now he ſees that Diſtinction come in play; he may hope, within a while, to have his Place again.

[*We dare with ſubmiſſion ſay, Let a publick invitation be put up againſt any Party whatſoever: nay, againſt the Reverend Biſhops themſelves, and ſome malicious informer or other will alledge that, which may be far better to conceal.*]

[*Yet all mankinde by a* Manifeſto *on the houſe door are incouraged to accuſe us: nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.*]

What an Ambuſh you have laid here for the *Biſhops*! to have them thought Popiſh, becauſe you *Reverence* them; and Obnoxious, in ſuch matters, as (you ſay) it *may be far better to conceal*. But as in the one, your Kindeneſs to them is ſufficiently underſtood. So they are able to defie your *Malice* in the other. 'Tis for a Biſhop of *Donna Olympia's* * to need *concealment*. Our Biſhops in *England* are of another make, than to hold their Credit at any one's Courteſie.

* *V.* Her Life. p. 61. and p. 156, 157.

For the *Manifeſto* that troubled you, what could the Parliament do leſs, when the complaints of you were great in all parts of the Nation, than to *Invite* men to bring their grievances to the proper place of Redreſs? But then ſay you, men were not *upon Oath*, for what they ſaid againſt you. What a *Hardſhip* was this? that the *Houſe of Commons* would

would not do that for Your ſakes, which no *Houſe of Commons* ever did upon Any occaſion.

[*It cannot be imagined where there's ſo many men of heat and youth (overjoyed with the happy reſtauration of their Prince) and remembring the inſolencies of their Grandees, that they ſhould all at all times prudently carry themſelves; for this would be to be more than men. And truly, we eſteem it as a particular bleſſing, that God hath not ſuffered many through vanity or frailty to fall into greater faults, than are yet as we underſtand laid to our charge.*]

The King will never be out of your debt, if a Jeſuite may but keep the reckoning. Your old Treaſons you put upon the Account of his Family and Friends, and your late Inſolencies upon the Score of his moſt *Happy Reſtauration.* But would you ſeriouſly perſwade us, that, at ſix years diſtance, *ſo many men of heat and youth* were ſtill tranſported with the *Joy* of that Bleſſing? That there were ſome freſher cauſes of this Jollity, has been vehemently ſuſpected by many, who conſidered the great Unſeaſonableneſs of it, in ſo calamitous a time, while the Fire was raging in our Metropolis, and a French Army lay hovering upon our Coaſts.

[*Can we chuſe but be diſmay'd (when all things fail) that extravagant Crimes are fathered on us.*

It is we muſt be the Authors (ſome ſay) of firing the City, even we that have loſt ſo vaſtly by it: yet in this, our Ingenuity is great, ſince we think it no Plot, though our Enemy an Hugonot *Proteſtant acknowledged the Fact, and was juſtly Executed for his vain Confeſſion. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of* England *buy Knives for the buſineſs of his Trade; This alſo is a Papiſt Contrivance, to deſtroy the well-affected.*]

There can be nothing charged on you, more *extravagant* than thoſe things were, which your Predeceſſors committed, and which here You have taken upon you to juſtifie or excuſe. The Particulars of your Charge, whatſoever they are, we leave to the conſideration of the Parliament; where we heartily wiſh there may appear more Reaſon on your ſide, than there is to be found in this *Apology.* For as to the *Firing of the City*, if according to your words (which

we have not hitherto found to be Gospel) *you have lost so vastly by it*; yet that will not Acquit you from the suspicion of the Fact, in the judgment of any one that considers the Determination of your late *Provincial*, * *viz.* that it is lawful to destroy the Innocent with the Guilty in order to a greater good. And it seems this *vast loss* goes not near your Heart; one would think so by your pleasantness in the very next passage. For there you call *Hubert your Enemy*, and *a Hugonot Protestant*: which *Hubert*, after Father *Harvey* had had him at Confession, did indeed affirm himself to be a *Protestant*; but then being askt whether he meant a *Hugonot* (which it seems was beyond his Instruction to say) he earnestly denied that, as he very well might, for he then also declar'd that he believed Confession to a Priest was necessary to his salvation: and being admonish'd to call upon God, he repeated an *Ave-Mary*, which he said was his usual Prayer. So that it evidently appears, he was neither *Hugonot*, nor *Protestant*, nor Your *Enemy* upon any account of Religion. And yet you, being about to avouch this knot of Falshoods, are pleased to usher them in with this Preface, (either in Praise of your Brother *Harvey*'s pious Fraud, or of your own Proper Vertue) *Truly in this our ingenuity is great.*

* *Garnet* in the case of the Powder-Plot.

[*We must a little complain, finding it by experience, that by reason you discountenance us, the People rage: and again, because they rage we are the more forsaken by you.*]

[*Assured we are, that our Conversation is affable, and our Houses so many Hospitable receipts to our Neighbours. Our acquaintance therefore we fear at no time; but it is the stranger we dread: that (taking all on hear say) zealously wounds, and then examines the business when it is too late, or is perchance confirmed by another, that knows no more of us than he himself.*]

[*'Tis to you we must make our Applications, beseeching you (as Subjects tender of our King) to intercede for us in the execution, and weigh the Dilemma, which doubtless he is in, either to deny so good a Parliament their requests, or else run counter to his Royal Inclinations; when he punishes the weak and harmless.*]

He that *complains* without cause, must be heard without redress.

We

We only desire to be Safe from those dangers, to which your Principles would expose us, and against which neither *Affableness* nor *Hospitality* will secure us. The Protestants of *Ireland* were never so treated and caressed by their Popish Neighbors, as they were the very year before they cut their throats.

The best Means of our security, is, that which his Majesty has been pleased to require, *viz.* The discreet Execution of his Laws. By which (if others shall please to distinguish themselves from the rest by renouncing their disloyal Principles) only the disloyal and seditious will be kept *weak*, that they may be *harmless*.

[*Why may we not, noble Countrey-men, hope for favour from you, as well as French Protestants finde from theirs? a greater duty than ours none could express, we are sure; or why should the United Provinces, and other Magistrates (that are harsh both in minde and manners) refrain from violence against our Religion, and your tender breasts seem not to harbour the least compassion or pity?*]

[*These barbarous People Sequester none for their Faith, but for Transgression against the State. Nor is the whole Party involved in the Crime of a few, but every man suffers for his own and proper fault. Do you then the like, and he that offends, let him dye without mercy:*]

[*And think alwayes, I beseech you of* Cromwels *Injustice: who for the Actions of some against his pretended Laws, drew thousands into decimation, even ignorant of the thing, after they had vastly paid for their security and quiet.*]

We have answer'd your Instances, of the *French Protestants*, and the *Dutch Papists*; and your unjust upbraiding us, with the *greatness of your duty*, and with our *want of compassion and pity*. And yet, as if all these were Unanswerable, you come over with them again and again.

These barbarous people, you say, *sequester none for their Faith*; but pray what did you, when you *govern'd the Civiliz'd World*? you hang'd and burn'd men, for no other cause but their Faith; and this you did with abundance of Civility; so it seems, we may be worse than *Barbarous*, and yet much better than you.

But that were little for our credit, unleſs we had *this* to ſay more; that not the worſt of you *ſuffers* any otherwiſe than by known Laws, or any more than is of pure Neceſſity. For, we hold it Neceſſary to maintain the Authority of the King, and the Peace of the Nation. If you call any thing *Religion*, that is contrary to theſe; muſt we therefore alter our Laws? or ought you to mend your Religion?

You put the Effigies of *Cromwel* upon any thing that you would render odious; as your Inquiſition bedreſſes one with Pictures of Devils, whom they are about to burn for his Religion. For ſuch Diſguizes are apt to work much upon the weak judgments of the multitude. But he muſt be very weak indeed that cannot perceive the wide Difference, between the Edicts of *Cromwel*, that were deſign'd to Ruine men for their Loyalty, and thoſe Laws that our Princes have made to Reſtrain them from Treaſon and Rebellion.

[*We have no other ſtudy, but the glory of our Sovereign and juſt liberty of the Subjects.*]

Sir, if we may judge by your Works, there is *nothing* leſs *ſtudied* in your Colledge.

[*Nor was it a mean argument of our Duty, when every Catholick Lord gave his voice for the Reſtauration of Biſhops; by which we could pretend no other advantage, but that 26 Votes (ſubſiſting wholly by the Crown) were added to the defence of Kingſhip, and conſequently a check to all Anarchy and Confuſion.*]

This is no *Argument* of Your *Duty*, for, ſure, You are no *Lord*. Nor is it likely that theſe Lords follow'd Your direction in the doing of this Duty.

[*'Tis morally impoſſible but that we who approve of Monarchy in the Church, muſt ever be fond of it in the State alſo.*]

If you mean this of Papiſts in General, that which you call *morally impoſſible* is Experimentally True. For in *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and the Popiſh Cantons of *Switzerland*, where they

they very well *approve of Monarchy in the Church*; yet they are not *fond of it in the State also*. But if you mean this of the Jesuitical Party, then it may be true in this sense, that you would have the Pope to be sole Monarch both in Spirituals and Temporals.

[*Yet this is a misfortune, we now plainly feel, that the longer the late Transgressors live, the more forgotten are their Crimes, whiles distance in time calls the faults of our Fathers to remembrance, and buries our own Allegiance in eternal oblivion and forgetfulness.*]

We can now allow you to complain, and commend your selves without Measure; having prov'd already, that you do it without Cause.

[*My Lords and Gentlemen, consider we beseech you the sad condition of the Irish Souldiers now in* England; *the worst of which Nation could be but Intentionally so wicked, as the acted villany of many English, whom your admired Clemency pardoned. Remember how they left the Spanish Service when they heard their King was in* France; *and how they forsook the Employment of that unnatural Prince, after he had committed the never to be forgotten Act of banishing his distressed Kinsman out of his Dominions. These poor men left all again to bring their Monarch to his home: and shall they then be forgotten by you? or shall my Lord* Douglas *and his brave Scots be left to their shifts, who scorned to receive wages of those who have declared War against* England?]

To swell up the Bill of the Merits of your Party, you take in the Services of the *Irish* and *Scottish Souldiers*, as if they were a part of the *English Catholicks*, whom you profess to plead for in the Title of your *Apology*. And that you may seem to have done this, in kindeness to Them, and not to your Selves; you exhort us to *Consider* them, in such terms, as if You were the first that had ever thought of them. God forbid but they should be consider'd as they deserve; and he is neither good Christian, nor good Subject, that would grudge to contribute his proportion toward it.

But you seem to have a farther drift in the mentioning of these Loyal *Irish*. For you immediately mingle them with the *worst of that Nation*; namely with those infamous Butchers, that in times of as great Peace and Liberty as ever

that Nation enjoyed, and in the Name of that gracious King under whom they enjoyed these, cut the throats of above an hundred thousand of his Protestant Subjects of all Sexes and Ages. It was so black a villany, that You, the Apologist of such Actions, knew not how to mention it in its proper place, *viz.* after the French Massacre, because you had not wherewith to colour it. And yet being conscious to your self that this lay as a blot upon your Cause, you thought fit to place it among these brave Men; as if their Names would mend the hue of an Action that will make the Names of all that had to do in it look black and detestable to mankinde throughout all Generations.

Lord *Orory's* Answer to *Welsh* p. 29 saith, with n few months about two hundred thousand.

Nor do you deal much better with our Royallists themselves; of whom you do not stick to affirm, that in their *admired Clemency*, (and if this were true, who would not admire it?) they *pardon'd Many English*, whose *Acted Villanies* were so wicked, that the *worst of the* Irish *Nation could be but Intentionally so wicked* in their Villanies.

[*How commonly is it said that the Oath of Renouncing their Religion is intended for these; which will needs bring this loss to the King and you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Arms (though by experience of great integrity and Worth) or else, if some few you retain, they are such whom necessity hath made to swear against Conscience, and who therefore will certainly betray you, when a greater advantage shall be offered. By this Test then you can have none, but whom (with Caution) you ought to shun. And thus must you drive away those who truly would serve you; for had they the least thought of being false, they would gladly take the advantage of gain and pay to deceive you.*]

You proceed, concerning the *Irish and Scottish Souldiers*, in these words; *How commonly is it said, that the Oath of Renouncing their Religion is intended for them!* Pray Sir, can you tell who are *said to intend this*? For if they are such as have no Authority, it is frivolous. If they are such as have Authority, it is false. And we do verily believe it was never *said*, wisht, or thought of, by any one that lov'd the King, and the peace of the Nation.

But what trick had this Jesuite in his head when he fram'd this? One may guess at his design; But let it pass. Perhaps

haps he only imagined this, to heighten his Fancy, that he might think and write the more Tragically toward the end of his Oration.

[*We know your Wisdom and Generosity, and therefore cannot imagine such a thing; nor do we doubt when you shew favor unto these, but you will use mercy to us, who are both your fellow subjects, and your own flesh and blood also; If you forsake us we must say the world decayes, and its final transmutation must needs follow quickly.*]

Here you un-imagin for the Souldiers, and imagin for your self: and, as if you really thought your self in danger, you beg for *mercy* of the Royallists, in such words as your Predecessor * us'd to the Rebels. Only for the last strain, we do not know that any one hit upon it before, nor do believe that any one will ever use it again.

* First Moderator, p. 76. *Your own Kindred and Allies, your own Countreymen, born to the same freedom with your selves; who have in Much less measure (then the Scots) offended in matters of Hostility, nay divers of them not at all.*

[*Little do you think the insolencies we shall suffer by Committee-men, &c. whom chance and lot, hath put into petty power. Nor will it chuse but grieve you to see them abused (whom formerly you loved) even by the common enemies of us both.*]

It seems *Committee men* are entrusted with his Majesties Authority; or that none must use it against Papists for fear of being accounted *Committee-men*.

It is time to have done, when we are come to the dregs of your Rhetorick.

[*When they punish, how will they triumph and say, take This (poor Romanists) for your love to Kingship; and again This, for your long doting on the Royal Party: all which you shall receive from us Commissioned by your dearest Friends, and under this Cloak we will gladly vent our private spleen and malice.*]

Sir, though you set your self before to speak Tragically, this does rather seem a piece of Drollery. But you Have your design either way. For no man can read it, but he must either Laugh, or Shake his head.

[*We know my Lords and Gentlemen, that from your hearts you do deplore our condition, yet permit us to tell you, your bravery must extend thus far, as not to sit still, with pity only, but each is to labour, for the distressed as far as in*

in reality his ability will reach: Some must beseech our Gracious Sovereign for us, others again must undeceive the good, though deluded multitude: therefore all are to remember who are the prime raisers of the storm; and how through our sides they would wound both the King and you: for though their hatred to us our selves is great, yet the enmity out of all measure increases, because we have been yours, and so shall continue even in the fiery day of tryal.

Protect us we beseech you then upon all your former promises, or if that be not sufficient for the sakes of those that lost their Estates with you; many of which are now fallen asleep: But if this be still too weak, we must conjure you by the sight of this bloody Catalogue, which contains the names of your murthered Friends and Relations, who in the heat of the Battle perchance saved many of your lives, even with the joyful loss of their own.]

Sir, In answer to this Paragraph, you Oblige us to speak plainer, what before we only intimated to you.

It was the Policy of the Rebels in the beginning of the late War, to harrass the Papists in all parts of the Kingdom. One Reason of it was, to make his Majesty Odious; for the Papists being his Subjects, and having none but him to fly to, it was certain he would do what he could to Protect them, and this would make many Zealous people believe, that what the Rebels pretended was true, *viz.* that his Majesty was a Friend to Popery. Another Reason was to enrich themselves with their Spoils, and to invite the Needy Rabble with a prospect of Booty; among which, if they found a String of Beads, or a Crucifix, it serv'd them upon both Accounts, both to fill their Pockets, and to justifie the Cause.

Second Moderator, p. 43. Most of them in the beginning of the late War (seeing themselves unprotected by the Parliament and exposed to the plunder of the then Souldiery) fled into the King's Garrisons, to save their own lives, without taking up Arms to offend others.

By this Means you were driven into his Majesties Garrisons, where, besides those that Voluntarily offer'd themselves to his Service, many of you were Necessitated to it for a subsistence, and many more of you did not serve him at all, but only shrowded your selves under his Protection. Whereas the Protestant Royallists had no such Necessity, for they might have been Welcome to the Rebels, to do as They did; or they might have been Permitted to live quietly at their home. But they chose to do otherwise, and were hated the more for it by the Rebels, because they preferr'd their duty before those Considerations.

From

From this Account of the Motives that brought us together, it is easie to Judge how far we are in Debt to one another.

First, As for them which *lost their Estates* with us, We remember those things were alledged in their defence, * which we would have been loth to have admitted in ours. But possibly it was not their Fault that these things were Alledg'd, nor was it to our Advantage that they were not Accepted. For the Rebels, having devour'd these Gentlemens Estates, fell to ours, with the more Colour, and with never the less Appetite.

* Second Moderator, p. 43.

In your Catalogue of those Papists which were Slain in the Service, you have Omitted some names which we are able to Reckon. But perhaps you did this in Design, that you might the more excusably Reckon some names that you ought to have Omitted. So you begin with my Lord of *Carnarvon*, the only Nobleman in your Catalogue, who was indeed too Negligent of his Religion, till he came to be in view of Death; But then, in his extremities, he Refus'd a Priest of yours, and Ordered the Chaplain * of his Regiment to pray with him. If you take this liberty of stealing Martyrs, we have Reason to wonder, that you had not taken in, one that would have Adorn'd your Cause indeed, *viz.* his Majesty himself; since *Militiere* * was not asham'd to publish, that that Blessed and Glorious Prince died of your Religion. Him alone we might weigh against All that ever was good in your Church. But besides, we could reckon you a far greater number of Protestants, than you pretend to do of Papists, that *lost their Lives* also *in the Day of Battle*. They lost them joyfully, in hopes to have sav'd his Majesty's Life; and 'twas an Accession to their Joy, *if perchance* they *sav'd any of yours*.

* Mr. *Langford*.

* In his Victory of Truth.

But did they ever intend their sufferings should go for nothing, or become Ciphers to yours in the day of Reckoning? or that their blood should be made use of to stop the Execution of those Laws for which they shed it? Did they think your *condition* was so *deplorable*, or their own was superfluously fenced and secured against you before the late troubles?

Pray

Pray Sir do not perſwade us to believe a thing ſo incredible, or to do as the rare as if we did believe it. Rather if you have ſuch an opinion of your own Faculty; Try what you can do with your own Party, and perſwade them to do what is fitteſt and beſt for Themſelves.

But becauſe the Genius of your Writing does not give us any ſuch Hopes of You: We ſhall rather make bold to ſay ſomething from our ſelves, by way of Advice, to as many of them as may happen to need it, and are capable to receive it.

We deſire them to Content themſelves with that condition which they enjoy'd under his Majeſties Royal Predeceſſors: and neither to Diſparage thoſe dayes, by endeavouring to perſwade the world that they which ſuffered then for Treaſon died for Religion; Nor to Undervalue all the Liberties which they now Enjoy, if they may not be allow'd to Exceed the Meaſures of their Fathers. We wiſh they would not, for the paring of their nails, make all Chriſtendom ring with Cries of Perſecution. We wiſh them deeply to lay to Heart, the Honor, and Peace, and Welfare of their Nation. To abhor him, that could wiſh to ſee it in Troubles, in hope that at next Turn it would ſettle in Popery; or that could finde in his heart to bid a Forreigner welcome upon the terms of reſtoring Catholick Religion. We deſire them to keep their Religion to themſelves: and not lay about them, as ſome do, to make Proſelytes; of which they have had a plentiful harveſt in the late Confuſions; and if they ſhould think to go on at that rate, we have reaſon to fear it would be a means to bring us into Confuſion again. We deſire them at leaſt not to abuſe the weakneſs of dying perſons: nor under pretence of carrying Alms to condemned Priſoners, to Convert ſome of them with Drink, and to Cheat others with hopes of Salvation upon eaſier termes than ever God yet declar'd unto Men. We deſire them not to hinder the courſe of Juſtice, by interpoſing in the behalf of any Criminal, becauſe he is a Catholick. We deſire them to content themſelves, as their Fathers have done, with ſuch Prieſts as are known and protected * by the Civil Power; and that They would be pleas'd to demean themſelves as Prieſts ought to do; not diſguiſing themſelves like Hectors, or mingling with Gentlemen, to poyſon the Clubs and Coffee-Houſes with Phanatick Diſcourſes, or even with Atheiſm it ſelf, to deſtroy all Religion that they may have their will upon ours. We deſire them not to fill the World with their Pamphlets, *Parallels*, *Philanaxes*, *Exhortations*, *Apologies*, &c which tend only to the fermenting of Mens Paſſions, not at all to the conviction of their Reaſon. If they pleaſe to come into the fair Field of Controverſie, we ſhall not decline them; and we think we are not in Debt to them upon that Account. But for Books of the other ſort which are apt only to inflame Parties, and make the People Jealous, and the Government Uneaſie, We wiſh they would ſpare their Own pains, and conſequently Ours. If they will not; let them bear their own blame, and let them Anſwer it to the world what Occaſion they had to give us this trouble of Anſwering them.

D. of *Medina* in 88. ſaid, his Sword knew no diſtinction between Catholick and Heretick.

* *V. Cambden's* Eliz. 1602.

FINIS.